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BLACK YOUTH IN A SOUTHERN METROPOLIS.
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TO DETERMINE THE ATTITUDES, VALUES, AND OPINIONS OF SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH, A QUESTIONNAIRE WAS DISTRIBUTED TO 688 STUDENTS FROM FIVE ALL-NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ENVIRONMENT SHOWED CONSIDERABLE DISSATISFACTION. TWO-THIRDS OF THE LISTED NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES AND SERVICES WERE NEGATIVELY EVALUATED BY AT LEAST 34 PERCENT OF THE STUDENTS. MOST POSITIVELY EVALUATED WERE ITEMS RELATED MOST CLOSELY TO PERSONAL ENVIRONMENT. ELEVEN OUT OF 14 ASPECTS OF CITY LIFE RECEIVED NEGATIVE RESPONSES FROM ONE-THIRD OR MORE RESPONDENTS. A LITTLE MORE THAN 25 PERCENT DESIRED SUBSTANTIAL OR TOTAL CHANGE IN THEMSELVES. OTHER QUESTIONS INVOLVED QUALITIES IMPORTANT TO "GETTING AHEAD," DESIRE FOR EDUCATION, CUSTOMARY SOURCES OF ADVICE, MOST IMPORTANT NEGRO LEADERS IN ATLANTA, ATTITUDES TOWARD RACIAL PROBLEMS (INCLUDING APPROVAL OF VARIOUS CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND APPROACHES), DELINQUENCY, AND RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES. CONSIDERABLE AMBIVALENCE AND CONTRADICTION IN THE RESPONSES SUGGEST A SENSE OF CONFUSION AND TRANSITION AMONG NEGRO YOUTH IN ATLANTA. AN APPENDIX CONTAINS AN EXHIBIT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30318, FOR $0.50. (AF)

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black youth in a small town.

Originally, the Southern Regional Council conceived and planned this study as a survey of the attitudes and values which contribute to delinquency among urban Negro youth. It soon became apparent that this phenomenon cannot be isolated from the other serious problems which face Negro youth today. Thus the scope of the study was broadened to encompass other areas of critical concern in the culture of youth.

Hopefully, the results of this study will give impetus to more comprehensive research efforts in this area and will provide the Southern Regional Council's Project on Crime and Corrections with a base upon which we may build other research programs as we support relevant projects in the area of delinquency prevention.

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Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to George Lawrence, Eddie Collins, Joyce Smith, and William V. Frazier, all graduate students at Atlanta University, for the assistance they gave in key punching and coding tasks.

John O. Boone, Director
Project on Crime and Corrections
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

BLACK YOUTH IN A SOUTHERN METROPOLIS

INTRODUCTION: Purpose of the Study

In the Twentieth Century, there has been a growing, if gradual, recognition that attitudes of youth are crucial to problems involving social change and social control. This is especially true in countries where industrialization and the complexity of society's requirements are lengthening the period of childhood dependency, and where youth are taught to make choices and to evaluate alternatives, yet are robbed of a meaningful institutional base for participation in society.

In trying to come to terms with problems of status, young people seize on varying adaptive mechanisms to bridge the "generation gap." While some youth retreat into a "drop-out" world, others develop individual forms of pathology. Not enough is known at present about the process by which different youth adapt to the problems posed by age gradients and the social system. One thing is certain, however: the values of youth are increasingly central to the complex of changes of which the adult world and its agencies of social control have to take cognizance. If youth behave in ways which conflict with cultural mores, agents of control respond with programs intended to motivate and/or reorient. If young people indulge in individual or group violence, programs of detention and/or reform are often forthcoming. Thus it is that as social requirements grow more complex and valuable skills take longer to acquire, the social structure responds with ever increasing force to any kind of youthful behavior which threatens to undermine the roles (i.e., "student" or "apprentice") which young people are expected to assume.

This paper was originally conceived as a study of Negro delinquency with implications and suggestions for correction and reform. Although this idea has not been completely abandoned, it was felt to be far too narrow in its conception to have practical or theoretical significance for understanding black youth in a southern metropolis. Stating the problem of black youth in terms of the many factors impinging upon their existence and known to affect their behavior would seem to have more relevance to delinquency than merely requesting information about delinquent acts, *per se*.

The most crucial aspects of reform partake of more than mere delinquent acts. The objective conditions in which the Negro youth of America exist are the materials out of which meaningful reform and correction must grow.

It is an unfortunate fact that action programs for social change, delinquency prevention projects, the ongoing programs of social service agencies, and other efforts to meet the challenges presented by youth are all too often designed, implemented, and administered by individuals who lack any kind of practical or theoretical understanding of the attitudes, aspirations, and perceived needs of the people whom the projects are designed to assist. More often than not, the problems to which youth programs must respond are stated in quasi-structural terms, but the treatment is directed toward individual pathology. The "Alice in Wonderland" quality of such programs is essentially the reason why the application of social welfare agency services on an individual basis has not thus far produced significant change.

In Atlanta, as elsewhere, there is need for a reasonably objective statement of the opinions and attitudes of youth toward themselves, their communities, their leaders and their city, as Negroes, and not merely as victims of deprivation, as potential delinquents, incipient rioters, or members of the various categories of "otherness" under which they are usually subsumed.

In view of the above considerations, the staff broadened the research objectives to include: (1) social and background factors of Negro youth in Atlanta; (2) neighborhood evaluation and problems; (3) attitudes toward the city of Atlanta; (4) self-concept, level of aspiration, and significant reference group symbols and patterns of identification; (5) attitudes about Negro-white relations, civil rights approaches and organizations, and (6) religious attitudes and participation.[1]

Approaches to Negro Youth

There has been no comprehensive study of Negro youth in America which has produced generalizations related to a body of theory and which is amenable to empirical testing. Even the assumption that Negro youth constitute a sub-culture different from white youth awaits further documentation and refinement. This is not to say that Negro youth have not been studied. More often than not, however, the approach has been focused either on the gang behavior of Negro youth, their assumed "cultural deprivation," their motivation and school performance, their differential treatment, or on subjective "truths" and insights.

In the 1940's the American Council on Education conducted a series of studies in different sections of the United States to explore the types of distinctive problems Negro youth face in their development as individual personalities. The principal works which came from this endeavor were:

In a Minor Key: Negro Youth in Story and Fact, by Ira De A. Reid.

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[1]The many questions that these topical headings represent may be seen by referring to the questionnaire found in the Appendix.

Children of Bondage: *The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South,* by Allison Davis and John Dillard.

Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States, by E. Franklin Frazier.

Growing Up in the Black Belt: *Negro Youth in the Rural South,* by Charles S. Johnson.

Color and Human Nature: *Negro Personality in a Northern City,* by W. Lloyd Warner, Burford H. Juner, and Walter A. Adams.

Since most of these studies were of a pioneering sort, their present value is primarily historical. This is true partly because the changes brought about by the civil rights movement in recent years have altered the emphasis on, if not the substance of, the problem, and partly because modern scientific developments demand more than these qualitatively oriented studies were able to give. Current studies in the behaviorial sciences are asking more refined questions on specific aspects of Negro life. What is needed at present is a national undertaking: "The Negro Youth of America Revisited," incorporating modern developments in the social sciences and ideas found in the more recent works on youth, particularly those suggested by: James S. Coleman in *The Adolescent Society;* Edgar Epps, in his studies on Negro motivation and school performance; S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation;* Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto;* Kenneth Kenniston, *The Uncommitted;* Albert and Bernice Lott, *Negro and White Youth;* William Brink and Louis Harris, *Black and White;* Walter Wallace, *Student Culture,* and James F. Short and Fred L. Strodtbeck, *Gang Delinquency and Group Process.* Although no attempt is made here to review all of the contributions of these men and their works, we were mindful of their content in designing the present study.

In a more popular vein, yet quite prophetic and timely in the insight it affords, was the August, 1967, special issue of *Ebony* magazine entitled "Negro Youth in America." It is an important contemporary perspective on the varied aspects of Negro youth and its practical value is surpassed only by the value of its refusal to treat Negro youth as an undifferentiated, alienated, and amorphous mass.

I

THE SAMPLE

Methodology and Data Collection

The reader of this report should be cautioned that this is not a study of all Negro youth. As a matter of convenience in data collection, only high school students were chosen. This means that youth below the high school level, in college, or in military service are not included. Some attempt was made to interview youth not in school, i.e., drop-outs, failures in school, and youth who finished high school and are now working or looking for work. Numerous interviews of this nature were conducted by Mr. Ron Sturrup in neighborhoods of high Negro concentration in different sections of Atlanta. These interviews were done for interpretive and methodological purposes. They are not reported here in a formal sense.

The present study used as respondents 688 Negro high school students selected from five predominantly Negro high schools in Atlanta, Georgia. The high schools (and the number of students they contributed to our sample) were: Harper (121 students); Howard (146 students); Booker T. Washington (150 students); Archer (159 students); and Price (112 students). These schools are composed of practically all-Negro student bodies comprising the overwhelming majority of Negro high school students in Atlanta.

The questionnaires were distributed by teachers and counselors at the high schools. Every attempt was made to obtain as representative a cross-sectional sample as resources would permit. The questionnaires were self-administered. Their relative completeness was an indication to the research staff that students had little difficulty in interpreting the questions.

Confidence in the representative nature of the sample is supported by the fact that about 25 per cent of the sample came from each of the schools' grades, 9th through the 12th. The sex composition in the sample favored females, who comprised about 60 per cent of the total. About 94 per cent of the students in the sample were between 14 and 18 years of age.

Social Characteristics

This section treats some of the social characteristics of the 688 high school students comprising the study group, particularly in terms of place of birth, length of residence in Atlanta, and family characteristics.

The respondents are indigenous to the South. (Only 12 of the students in our sample were born outside of the region.) Most of the respondents were born in Atlanta (about 80 per cent), while an additional 10 per cent were born in Georgia, but not in Atlanta.

In a separate question relating to length of residence in Atlanta, only 24 respondents (3 per cent) indicated that they had lived in Atlanta less than three years, while about 19 per cent reported living in the city for more than three years, and about 78 per cent stated that they had resided in Atlanta all their lives. It is clear from these statistics that our respondents are not "out-

siders," but are largely Atlanta-born youth looking at themselves, their neighborhoods, and the city which contains them.

When asked "With whom do you live?" 58 per cent of the respondents reported residence with both parents, while the remaining 42 per cent reported living under the following arrangements: 32 per cent with the mother only; 2 per cent with the father only; and 8 per cent with neither parent. In the latter category, residence was divided among the following, in descending order of magnitude: older sister, grandmother, older brother, aunt, grandfather, and uncle. In studies of this nature, it is not unusual to find a fairly high percentage of Negro youth living with the mother only, or with relatives in the female line.

An extensive literature already exists on the matriarchal family, the breakdown of family structure among urban Negroes, and similar concerns. Mere re-statement of this oft-noted phenomenon is unnecessary. However, our figures suggest that nearly 2 out of 5 Negro adolescents in Atlanta live in a home where there is no permanent male role model or male authority figure. (It should also be noted that a study based exclusively on youth *in* high school, by its very nature, tends to oversample adolescents from stable family backgrounds.) It is obvious that this high percentage of female-centered families has serious implications for the acceptance of normative values and the assumption of socially appropriate roles by a large segment of black youth.

Less obvious, but equally cogent, is the prospect that when 40 per cent of a group live in family situations which are socially perceived as "abnormal," the whole question of what constitutes a normal family, at least for that group, might well require re-evaluation. Furthermore, it would seem to follow from this that attempts to alter society's view of normative family structure might be a more fruitful approach to social integration (i.e., creating an environment in which black people would assume appropriate roles with relative ease) than is the current approach which emphasizes the need for Negro families to conform to white models.

In response to a question about the main source of family income, only 43 per cent of the sample reported father's income as their principal means of support, 23 per cent indicated mother's income, and 18 per cent stated that both parents' incomes were of equal importance. Small percentages of the students stated that social security (8 per cent), welfare (3 per cent), and "other," such as brother's salary, uncle's salary, etc. (5 per cent), were the family unit's primary source of economic support.

In terms of parental employment patterns, it was found that a higher percentage of the responding students' fathers than mothers were employed, 96 per cent vs. 66 per cent. The data further suggest that of employed parents, mothers were more frequently employed in *low status* occupations than fathers, 67 per cent vs. 56 per cent. (*Low status* occupations were defined, in a most general sense, to include operatives, service workers, domestic workers, common laborers, etc.) Employed fathers were more likely to be in *medium status* occupations than were employed mothers, 32 per cent vs. 16 per cent. (*Medium status* occupations were defined to include clerical, sales, craft, and skilled workers, etc.) Occupations of a *high status* (professional, technical, managerial, etc.) favored employed mothers over employed fathers, 17 per cent vs. 12 per cent.

When asked whether the persons with whom they lived owned (or were buying) their home, 49 per cent of respondents answered in the affirmative, while 51 per cent indicated that their place of residence was being rented. This tends to support our earlier observations concerning the relative stability of the sample population since this percentage of owner-occupied dwellings significantly exceeds the percentage for the non-white population of Atlanta as a whole (which is 38%).[2]

II

EVALUATIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND CITY

Community exists wherever human beings live. It is a universal social form. Ideally, the community is a social entity specifically adapted to meeting the common needs of its inhabitants. Some communities are more effective than others in terms of serving their inhabitants. One would suspect that Negro communities in America are not as adequately structured to serve youth as white communities are. We wanted to know, therefore, how Negro youth in Atlanta evaluate their immediate neighborhoods, and further, how they view the wider community environment. Negatively evaluated community services would tend to suggest dissatisfaction and, to the farsighted city planner and administrator, a basis for positive social action.

The Neighborhood

A list of facilities and services of concern to every neighborhood was presented to the respondents. They were asked to evaluate the quality of each item on a four-point scale, indicating each as either *very poor, needing some improvement, pretty good, or don't know.*

[2]Atlanta Human Resources Survey, Georgia Department of Labor, Employment Security Agency, June, 1966.

The responses *very poor* and *needing some improvement* were combined into a single category and considered as a negative evaluation. The facilities and services shown in Table 1 were negatively evaluated by at least one-third of the respondents.

TABLE 1. NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES OR SERVICES EVALUATED AS POOR OR NEEDING IMPROVEMENT BY AT LEAST ONE-THIRD OF THE RESPONDENTS.

Facility or Service	Per cent of respondents indicating facility or service is poor or needs improvement
Recreational facilities	62%
Police Protection	52%
Condition of sidewalks	50%
Garbage and trash collection	47%
Cleanliness and appearance	46%
Quality of schools	43%
Condition of streets	43%
Sewers	41%
Crowded conditions	40%
Street lights	35%
Bus service	35%
Parking facilities	34%

The list of services and facilities in Table 1 have been problematic in Atlanta. It would seem that a full-scale appraisal of these services and facilities on a neighborhood basis is needed and, if they are found wanting to the extent indicated by the respondents, immediate corrective action should be taken.

This level of negative reaction to those services, facilities, and conditions which comprise the basic circumstances in which the respondents live would seem to bode ill for the future. Indeed, it is those very conditions which receive least approbation which have appeared to precipitate civil disturbances most frequently in recent years.

Not all neighborhood services and facilities were negatively evaluated. Some were regarded as *pretty good*. The positively evaluated items are shown in Table 2.

From the evaluations of the respondents, it appears that the services and facilities viewed most negatively are of a generally different order and nature from those more positively evaluated. Those services and facilities

TABLE 2. NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES EVALUATED AS PRETTY GOOD BY AT LEAST TWO-THIRDS OF THE RESPONDENTS.

Facility	Per cent of respondents indicating that the facility is pretty good
Churches	83%
Cooking facilities	82%
Location of schools	82%
Hot water facilities	80%
Bathroom facilities	77%
Shopping facilities	70%

which received the lowest ratings would generally seem to be of greater consequence for comprehensive community planning, in that each is under the direct control of the local government; of those positively evaluated, only the "location of schools" falls in that domain.

City of Atlanta

The respondents live in a city as well as in neighborhoods within a city. The image of one's city is, in part, a reflection of the image of the neighborhood; however, the neighborhood does not include all the elements on which images of a city are built. How Negro youth view the entire city is of particular importance to this study for two obvious reasons: (1) Atlanta prides itself on having a very positive image, particularly in the area of race relations; and (2) the Atlanta Negro population is now 45 per cent of the total population of the city and growing steadily. In view of the limited scope of the sample, the responses of the youth in this study may be seen as a moderate forecast of the views of the majority of the future adult population of Atlanta; therefore, their evaluation of the city is both strategic and informative.

A list of 14 aspects of life in the Atlanta community was presented to the respondents. They were asked to rate each on a four-point scale: *poor, fair, good,* or *very good*. Combining the *poor* and *fair* categories, and the *good* and *very good* categories, it was found that the respondents evaluated more items positively than negatively. The per cent of *very good* evaluations was particularly high in regard to the following aspects of the city's life: (1) sports; (2) colleges and universities; (3) moral and religious climate; and (4) public schools.

A more crucial concern to city planning might be the question of what aspects of city life were negatively evaluated by the respondents. Table 3 (on page 7) shows that ten of the fourteen items were evaluated as

TABLE 3. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW WOULD YOU RATE ATLANTA ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS OF CITY LIFE?"

Aspects of Life in Atlanta	Per cent of respondents evaluating each item as:		Total	
	Poor or Fair	Good or Very Good	N	%
Race relations	73%	27%	672	100
Housing	70%	30%	668	"
Recreation	60%	40%	672	"
Police officers	51%	49%	669	"
Place to bring up kids	47%	53%	669	"
Welfare services	46%	54%	664	"
City government	45%	55%	679	"
Negro leaders	44%	56%	671	"
Job opportunities	43%	57%	668	"
Public school teachers	40%	60%	672	"
Public schools	36%	64%	678	"
Moral and religious climate	25%	75%	647	"
Colleges and Universities	23%	77%	676	"
Sports	18%	82%	657	"

poor or *fair* by from 40 per cent to 72 per cent of the respondents, with the most negatively evaluated aspects of city life being the following: (1) race relations; (2) housing; (3) recreation; and (4) police officers. That race relations would be so evaluated by the respondents of this study seems to contradict widely held assumptions about the city's good race relations and the view of Atlanta as "a city too busy to hate." Evidently, these students feel that good race relations are built on more than the *idea* of good race relations.

No overall consistent patterns of negative evaluation by sex or age were found. Some differences on particular items did occur. Female respondents tended to evaluate items as *poor* or *fair* in larger percentages than did males. This was particularly true for the following areas (per cent differences of female negative response over male negative response shown after each item): (1) "Race relations," 8 per cent difference, (2) "housing," 7 per cent difference, (3) "welfare," 6 per cent difference, and (4) "public schools," 5 per cent difference. Only for "public school teachers" did the per cent difference for males exceed that for females in the magnitude found on the above items. Exactly why this is so cannot be specifically determined by this investigation. Perhaps the Negro female is placed in a social status which demands that she be more acutely aware of the quality of race relations, housing, welfare, and public schools.

Responses by age group indicated that older students (16-19 years) tended to evaluate "housing" and "colleges and universities" as *poor* or *fair* more often than did younger students (13-15 years), with differences of 10 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively. On the other hand, the younger students evaluated "job opportunities" and "sports" as *poor* or *fair* in larger numbers than 16 to 19-year-olds, with differences of 8 per cent and 7 per cent, respectively.

III

SELF-IMAGES, ASPIRATIONS, AND PATTERNS OF IDENTIFICATION

How Negro youth view themselves, whether they want to change themselves, their educational aspirations, whom they turn to for advice, and what leadership figures they are familiar with or identify with are im-

portant facets of their sub-culture, all having implications for patterns of action and social planning.

Self-Image

In an attempt to assess the respondents' satisfaction with their self-images, they were asked to check, from among four statements, the one which came closest to their feelings about themselves. The statements were:

1. I don't like myself the way I am; I'd like to change completely.
2. There are many things I'd like to change; but not all.
3. There are a few things I'd like to change; but not too many.
4. I'd like to stay very much the same; there is almost nothing I would like to change.

Combining responses to statements 1 and 2 as an index of persons desiring substantial changes in their self-images, and responses to statements 3 and 4 as an indication of respondents desiring few or no changes, it was found that 26 per cent of the respondents desired complete or substantial changes in their self-images, while 74 per cent would make few or no changes. Males felt the need for substantial change in their self-images more often than did females, 30 per cent vs. 24 per cent. Such feelings of self-debasement and sense of personal isolation may have serious implications for the respondents' ability to develop meaningful personal relationships in later life. The number of students expressing such feelings suggests that acting out behavior among youth may be expected to continue at a high level.

Qualities for "Getting Ahead in Life"

What one believes are important qualities for "getting ahead" in life are often clues to his personality and orientation. One would expect this to be especially important for a minority group whose avenues to success are so problematic. The respondents were asked, "How important is each of the following items in helping one to 'get ahead' in life?: pleasant personality; family background; good clothes; good looks; being a white person; ability; high ideals; proper morals; friendliness; athletic ability; high grades in school; luck; personal ambition, and being 'slick.' " They were asked to respond on a four-point scale of *very important, fairly important, not too important,* and *don't know.* The response patterns shown in Table 4 are ranked on the

TABLE 4. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW IMPORTANT IS EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUALITIES IN HELPING ONE TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE?"

Quality	Per cent of respondents who rated each quality as:				TOTAL	
	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not too Important	Don't Know	N	%
Pleasant personality	89	6	2	3	664	100
Ability	86	10	3	1	664	"
Friendliness	78	15	5	2	656	"
Proper morals	65	22	7	6	655	"
Grades in school	63	26	8	3	662	"
High ideals	62	26	8	4	661	"
Personal ambition	61	21	13	5	649	"
Family background	37	28	32	3	667	"
Good clothes	20	39	39	2	668	"
Athletic ability	17	25	53	5	655	"
Luck	13	23	58	6	652	"
Being a white person	12	9	69	10	655	"
Good looks	10	19	68	3	662	"
Being "slick"	5	7	73	15	650	"

basis of the frequency with which each quality was rated as *very important*.

It can be seen that the first seven items were rated as *very important* by 60 per cent or more of the respondents (pleasant personality, 89 per cent; ability, 86 per cent; friendliness, 78 per cent; proper morals, 65 per cent; high grades, 63 per cent; high ideals, 61 per cent; and personal ambition, 61 per cent). Then there is a sudden drop in qualities rated as *very important* with being "slick," good looks, being a white person, luck, and athletic ability assigned relatively low priority. With the exception of personality and reputational concerns, the magnitude of assessment and ranking of items contrasts vividly with similar items endorsed by students in Coleman's *Adolescent Society*, where athletic ability, good looks, and family were important attributes.

Figure 1 presents the response patterns to the items when qualities rated as *very important* were compared by sex. In general, qualities rated as *very important* by one sex were rated similarly by the other. The data in Figure 1 do indicate, however, that females were more inclined to assign high priority to proper morals, personal ambition, high ideals, friendliness, and pleasant personality than were males. Although males were somewhat more likely to place a high premium on good clothes, good looks, and athletic ability, it is particularly significant that these latter attributes, frequently assumed to be most highly valued in the youth culture of the ghetto, were consistently rated very low even by the male respondents.

Educational Aspiration

Commonly assumed, but frequently questioned, is the notion that Negro youth have low aspirational levels in terms of education and success orientations. The previous question on qualities *very important* in "getting ahead" indicated that Negro youth rated ability, grades in school, and personal ambition as highly significant priorities in achievement. In this vein, respondents were asked, "Do you plan to go to school after you get out of high school?"

Responses to the above questions suggest a high level of personal aspiration among the respondents: 96 per cent indicated intentions of staying in high school until graduation. Eighty-six per cent of these expect to continue their education beyond high school with nearly half planning to attend college, and the rest to attend various kinds of vocational training institutions. These data suggest that there is nothing lacking in the intentions and aspirations of Negro youth. They have, to borrow a phrase, "Great Expectations." The difficulties in actual achievement must be sought among other realities of the social system; e.g., economic organization, reference group support, opportunity structures, etc.

Sources of Advice and Identification

To whom does one turn for advice? With whom does one identify? These are important factors in anyone's patterns of orientation; they provide cues to action, commitment, and personal anchorage for ideological and economic support and comfort.

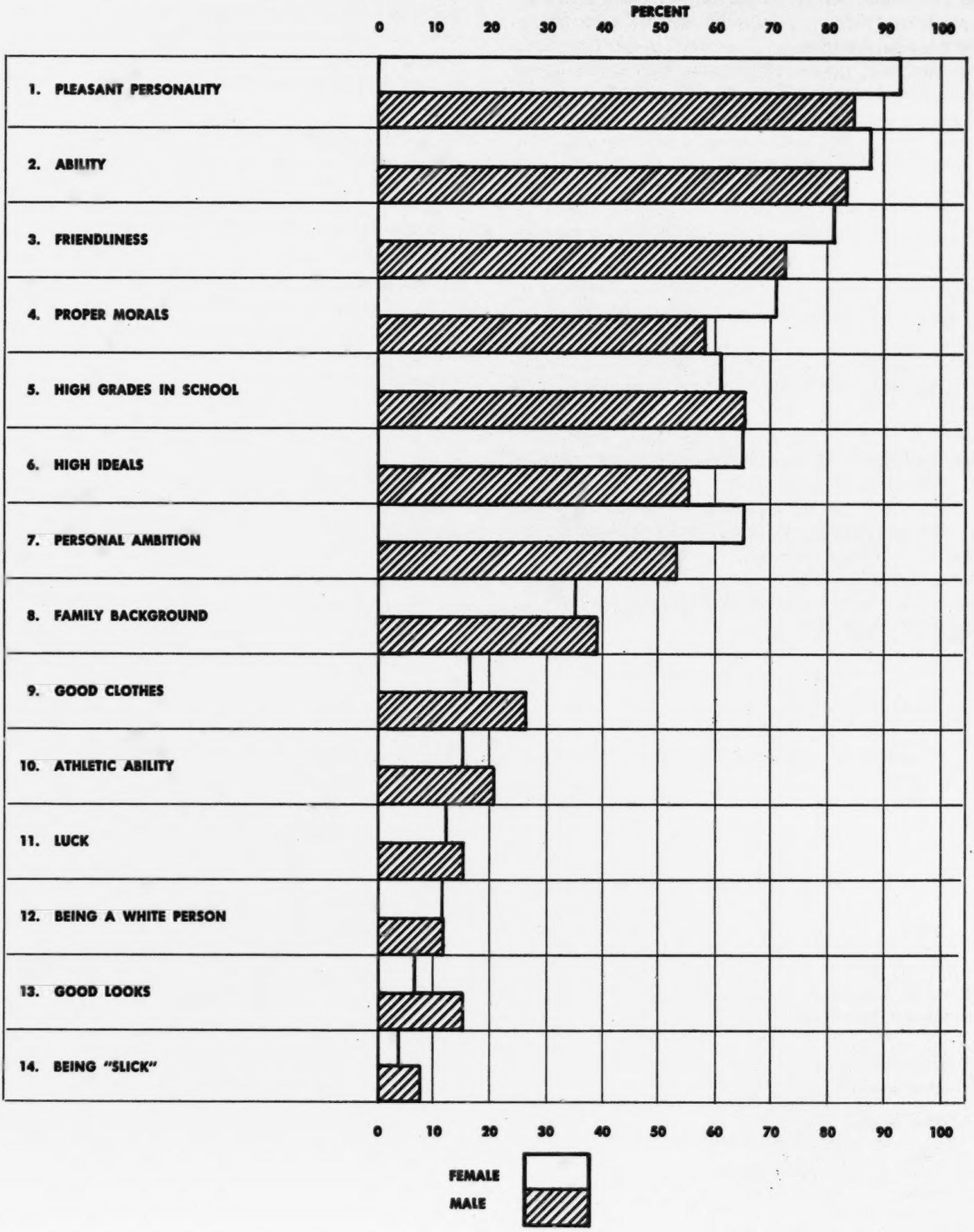
In response to the question, "Whom do you usually turn to for advice?" "mother" and "friend(s) of same age" were most frequently cited. (See Table 5.) These were followed in frequency by both parents, older

TABLE 5. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "TO WHOM DO YOU USUALLY TURN FOR ADVICE," BY SEX.

Source of Advice	Per cent of respondents who reported seeking advice from each source*		
	All respondents (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Mother	57	53	60
Personal Friend(s) of same age	45	33	52
Both parents	31	36	27
Older friend(s)	29	26	31
School personnel	29	33	26
Other relatives	29	26	30
Father	12	17	9
Minister	12	14	11

*Percentages do not total 100% because respondents were asked to report as many sources of advice as were appropriate.

FIGURE 1. DIFFERENCE BY SEX IN PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SELECTED QUALITIES AS "VERY IMPORTANT FOR GETTING AHEAD IN LIFE."



friend(s), school personnel, other relative(s), father, and minister. The dominance of the mother figure as a source of advice should not lead one to assume that this is simply due to the matricentric nature of the Negro family, though nearly a third of the respondents live with mother only. Given the expressive nature of her role, we would expect the mother to be a principal source of advice in many two-parent families. The position of "friend(s) of same age" likewise should not be interpreted along racial lines, but is consistent with the notion that a youth sub-culture exists in which support and comfort from one's peer group are important components.

In addition to the fact that mothers and personal friends were the most frequently cited sources of advice, and fathers and ministers were the least cited sources, some interesting variations by sex of respondents were found. Male respondents more frequently indicated a wider range of sources of advice than did females. Also, a higher per cent of males than females cited "father," "both parents," "school personnel," and "minister" as sources of advice, whereas a higher per cent of females cited "friend(s) of same age," "mother," and "older friend(s)."

When asked to respond to the statement "people are always trying to tell me what to do," female respondents agreed much more with the statement than males, 42 per cent to 27 per cent. The implications of this in terms of Negro females' receptivity to advice and counsel or the tendency to turn to peer group members for support cannot be determined by this study, but suggest a direction for further research.

Leadership Symbols

Respondents were asked: "List, in order of importance *to you,* the five most important leaders of the Negro people in Atlanta." Many of the respondents did not list five leaders; however, most listed at least two or three persons they regarded as the most important leaders in Atlanta. Only four names were frequently mentioned. They were: M. L. King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Leroy Johnson, Georgia State Senator; Julian Bond, Georgia Representative and ex-SNCC Publicity Director; and Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of SNCC. Another study conducted by the senior author of this report showed these names were also the most frequently cited in Atlanta area newspapers.

Table 6 presents the frequency with which the above-mentioned leaders were cited, and the number of times each was given first place mention.

TABLE 6. NAMES MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION: "WHO, IN YOUR OPINION, ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT NEGRO LEADERS IN ATLANTA?"

Name of Leader	Number of Times Cited	Number of Times Cited First
Martin L. King, Jr.	473	301
Leroy Johnson	207	28
Julian Bond	181	12
Stokely Carmichael	117	9

It might be contended that all of the above men are not a part of the local power or leadership structure. To a certain extent, this is true. Care, however, should be taken that this contention is not accepted categorically. These men have taken positions to which the local power structure, white and Negro, has had to respond; e.g., the Julian Bond controversy, the Vietnam crisis, "Black Power," the Poverty Program, and racial disturbances in sections of Atlanta in 1966-67. It is true that these men have influence extending far beyond the local community; but to say that they are not, and have not been, of consequence locally is a critical mistake. When the more "local" Negro leaders make this assumption, they indulge in wishful thinking, for they well know that men of such nature often create the type of situation to which the local leadership must respond.

Familiarity with Other Prominent People

Respondents were asked to identify each individual on a list of people currently or historically prominent. Many of the individuals were Atlantans or Georgians; still others were not. The names and the number of times they were correctly identified are shown in Table 7.

The ability to identify people of stature and note in history in no way means that the students identify with them as positive role-models. It was clear from the colorful expressions used by the students that some of the persons identified correctly were negatively evaluated. This was especially true for some southern white politicians on our list. Likewise, it is of note in terms of everyday living and Negro history that far more of the respondents know Ray Charles, Lou Rawls, Muhammad Ali, and Gale Sayers than Booker T. Washington, Ralph Bunche, Thurgood Marshall, Sojourner Truth and W. E. B. DuBois; not to mention some of the more local persons of repute. When local Negro leaders were identified correctly they were much more likely to have been Martin L. King, Jr., Leroy Johnson, Julian Bond, and Stokely

TABLE 7. NUMBER OF TIMES RESPONDENTS CORRECTLY IDENTIFIED PROMINENT PERSONAGES IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION: "WHO IS (OR WAS) EACH OF THE FOLLOWING?" (NAMES RANKED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF IDENTIFICATION.)

Name of Personage	Number of Times Correctly Identified
1. Lester Maddox	546
2. Ray Charles	531
3. Robert Kennedy	506
4. Lou Rawls	492
5. Ivan Allen, Jr.	478
6. Leroy Johnson	470
7. Martin L. King, Jr.	457
8. Julian Bond	441
9. Muhammad Ali	437
10. Stokely Carmichael	435
11. Harry S. Truman	424
12. Marian Anderson	359
13. Adam Clayton Powell	344
14. Gale Sayers	338
15. Carl E. Sanders	337
16. John Letson	332
17. Elijah Muhammad	317
18. William H. Borders	314
19. Fidel Castro	313
20. Booker T. Washington	291
21. Bill Russell	217
22. Benjamin E. Mays	210
23. Richard B. Russell	209
24. Adlai E. Stevenson	172
25. Mao Tse Tung	156
26. Ralph Bunche	137
27. Thurgood Marshall	84
28. Sojourner Truth	80
29. Bob Dylan	79
30. Rufus E. Clement	73
31. T. M. Alexander, Sr.	60
32. Samuel W. Williams	54
33. W. E. B. DuBois	48
34. Jesse Hill	33
35. Walter Reuther	28
36. Lillian Smith	26
37. Howard Moore	25
38. Eugene V. Debs	17
39. J. Ernest Wilkins	9

Carmichael, than other local notables of less wide renown.

IV

RACIAL ATTITUDES AND CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND APPROACHES

The attitudes of youth in America might turn out to be the most crucial predictor for the nature and direction of social change. Many of the recent reform and revolutionary movements in the world have heavily involved youth, who have often been among the principal architects and initiators of change. Youth are now receiving a type of exposure and recognition which has no direct counterpart in earlier periods of history. They are being heard in popular art, the "hippie" movement, peace politics, and civil rights. The latter aspect of contemporary change and the attitudes of Negro youth toward it is the principal concern of this report, for it is here that Negro youth have made their presence felt most strongly.

Racial Attitudes

Respondents were asked to express agreement or disagreement with a number of statements assessing their attitudes toward certain problems of race and race-related behavior. Ranked on the basis of frequency of disagreement, the responses to each statement are shown in Table 8. Respondents disagreed with the majority of the statements. The relatively high percentage of respondents who said "don't know" was predictable due to the controversial nature of the statements presented.

A separatist philosophy does not appear to be the dominant theme for the respondents. Most of them are not strong believers in "black power," nor do they think the situation would be improved if Negroes were more separated from whites. The fact that 21 per cent of the respondents felt that "sometimes Negroes ought to carry guns when protesting," and 22 per cent felt that "civil rights demonstrations do not accomplish anything," might suggest that Negro youth opinion is in a transitional phase and that, all else being equal, a similar question in the future might well elicit more militant views. However, the extent to which the respondents reported willingness to participate in a riot is still comparatively small, about 8 per cent. This figure is smaller than that reported by William Brink and Louis Harris, where 15 per cent of the total rank and file of the Negro population "would join a riot."[3]

[3]William Brink and Louis Harris, *Black and White* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 67.

Of particular interest in America is the stance of black Americans toward the Vietnam conflict. In response to the statement, "Black Americans should be proud to be fighting in Vietnam," only 31 per cent agreed, while 49 per cent disagreed with the statement.

Responses to the statement, "White people can usually be trusted," are a partial index of the limited extent to which black youth have faith in whites. Whereas 30 per cent responded "don't know," 45 per cent of the respondents do *not* feel that whites can usually be trusted. Upper class Negroes fare much better in this regard, as indicated by the fact that only 15 per cent of the respondents believed that they "usually cannot be trusted."

Several of the statements in Table 8 ask the respondents to assess "blame" for the "riots" in Atlanta, particularly those that occurred in the Boulevard and Summerhill areas. It is realized that these were not riots in the same sense as were the disturbances which occurred in Newark and Detroit.

An evaluation of attitudes toward responsibility for "riots" in Atlanta revealed the following:

1. Equal proportions of respondents blamed "whites" and "Negro agitators," 25 per cent.
2. Thirty-five per cent blamed "police brutality."
3. "Poor economic and social conditions of Negroes" was stated as a cause by 48 per cent of the respondents.
4. The only suggested "cause" to which a majority of the respondents agreed was the relatively amorphous "bad race relations," 64 per cent.

The possibility of future disturbances of a riotous nature is suggested by 53 per cent of the respondents, who agreed with the statement, "If things don't get better in Atlanta, there will be riots." Similar conclusions are being reached in a number of other American cities.

Some differences in responses to these statements by sex were found. In general, males were more likely to agree with statements shown in Table 8 than were females. For example, males were more likely than females to agree that: (1) "I would participate in a

TABLE 8. RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS CONCERNING SELECTED PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS OF RACE AND RACE-RELATED BEHAVIOR.

Statements Concerning Race-related Problems and Behavior	Reaction of respondents by per cent expressing:			TOTAL	
	(%) Disagreement	(%) Agreement	(%) No Opinion	N	%
1. The more Negroes are separated from whites the better	76	12	12	664	100
2. I am a strong believer in "Black Power"	73	11	16	667	"
3. I would participate in a riot	69	8	23	672	"
4. Sometimes Negroes ought to carry guns when protesting	63	21	16	674	"
5. Civil Rights demonstrations do not accomplish anything	58	22	20	678	"
6. "Upper class" Negroes are usually not to be trusted	56	15	29	678	"
7. Black Americans should be proud to be fighting in Vietnam	49	31	20	669	"
8. White people can usually be trusted	45	25	30	675	"
9. I blame whites for riots in Atlanta	40	25	35	672	"
10. I blame Negro agitators for riots in Atlanta	39	25	36	667	"
11. I blame police brutality for riots in Atlanta	33	35	32	677	"
12. Non-violence is always the best approach for Negroes to use	30	51	19	675	"
13. I blame poor economic and social conditions of Negroes as cause of riots in Atlanta	25	48	27	669	"
14. I blame bad race relations for riots in Atlanta	19	64	17	665	"
15. If things don't get better in Atlanta, there will be riots	19	53	28	676	"

riot," 9 per cent difference; (2) "I blame whites for the riots in Atlanta," 9 per cent difference; (3) "Sometimes Negroes ought to carry guns when protesting," 8 per cent difference; (4) "Upper class Negroes are usually not to be trusted," 8 per cent difference, and (5) "I blame police brutality as the cause of riots in Atlanta," 8 per cent difference. The only statement to which female respondents agreed in larger percentage than male respondents was, "I blame 'bad' race relations as the cause of riots in Atlanta," 8 per cent difference.

When the statements in Table 8 are compared by age, generally, it was the younger Negro youth who *agreed* most frequently with the statements. Respondents 13 to 15 years old, when contrasted with those 16-19 years old, more frequently believed that: (1) "If things don't get better in Atlanta there will be riots," 9 per cent difference; (2) "The more Negroes are separated from whites the better," 8 per cent difference; (3) "I am a strong believer in Black Power," 5 per cent difference; and (4) "civil rights demonstrations do not accomplish anything," 5 per cent difference.

On the other hand, older respondents, more frequently than younger respondents, agreed with the following statements: (1) "I blame police brutality as the cause of 'riots' in Atlanta," 10 per cent difference; (2) "I blame poor economic and social conditions of Negroes as the cause of 'riots' in Atlanta," 8 per cent difference; and (3) "I blame 'bad' race relations as the cause of 'riots' in Atlanta," 7 per cent difference.

Although in no way altering the basic pattern of responses to the statements in Table 8, it would appear that it is the younger male respondent who is more militant and separatist in his racial stance than older males or females. Since this was not the dominant stance for the total group, and since the significance of the maturation process in this regard is unmeasured, implications for future orientations of Negro youth cannot be determined by this study, however provocative the data may seem.

Civil Rights Organizations and Approaches

The number of civil rights organizations and/or approaches increased almost exponentially during the early 1960's. A partial list of civil rights organizations and approaches was presented to the respondents. They were asked to state their approval or disapproval of each. It is realized that some of the organizations or approaches do not fall under the heading of civil rights in traditional usage. They do, however, relate, in some measure, to what Negroes are doing in order to alleviate the stigma and status discontent attached to being black in America. The groups and approaches are shown in Table 9. They are ranked on the basis of the frequency with which they were approved by the respondents.

It is obvious that the groups cited need not be, and usually are not, mutually exclusive in their approaches. For example, voter registration drives and court cases are not the exclusive property of any one particular group. The NAACP, CORE, and SNCC have participated in voter registration drives. NAACP, ACLU, and others have initiated court cases.

Inspection of Table 9 shows the NAACP, the oldest of civil rights organizations, won the approval of the respondents more than any other group. The order was: (1) NAACP, 75 per cent; (2) the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 72 per cent; (3) the Congress of Racial Equality, 55 per cent; (4) the National Urban League, 49 per cent; (5) the American Friends Service Committee, 44 per cent; (6) the American Civil Liberties Union, 39 per cent; (7) the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 37 per cent; (8) the Anti-Defamation League, 22 per cent; (6) the Deacons for Defense, 16 per cent; and (10) the Nation of Islam, 11 per cent. The students seemed to tend to disassociate organizations from tactics; e.g., while 37 per cent of all respondents approved of SNCC and 55 per cent approved of CORE, only 15 per cent approved of Black Power.

The dominant approaches to the problems faced by Negroes are still educational, legalistic and nonviolent, with a third or more of the respondents also endorsing more dramatic forms of activity, such as street demonstrations, sit-ins, economic boycotts, and rent strikes. The least favorably endorsed approach or idea was riots (12 per cent).

When civil rights groups and approaches were compared by sex, it was the male respondent who indicated a more militant and activistic stance. A larger percentage of males than females approved the following (per cent differences by sex are shown after each item): (1) street demonstrations and protest marches, 11 per cent difference; (2) Nation of Islam, 9 per cent difference; (3) SNCC, 8 per cent difference; (4) Black Power, 8 per cent difference; (5) riots, 8 per cent difference; (6) Deacons for Defense, 7 per cent difference; and (7) school boycotts, 7 per cent difference. Females, in appreciably larger numbers than males, approved of "educational programs used to change racial prejudice and discrimination," 9 per cent difference.

Older youths were more traditional in their approval of civil rights organizations than were the younger

TABLE 9. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: WHAT DO YOU THINK OF EACH OF THE FOLLOWING CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND APPROACHES?"

Civil Rights Group or Approaches	Per cent of respondents expressing:			TOTAL	
	% Approval	% Disapproval	% No Opinion	N	%
1. NAACP	75	2	23	621	100
2. Voter Registration Drives	73	4	23	621	"
3. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)	72	3	25	638	"
4. Educational programs to change prejudice & discrimination	64	6	30	618	"
5. Non-violence	63	9	28	607	"
6. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)	55	3	42	625	"
7. Court cases to change segregation	55	8	37	620	"
8. National Urban League	49	3	48	609	"
9. Street demonstrations and protest marches	44	25	31	619	"
10. American Friends Service Committee	44	4	52	620	"
11. Sit-Ins	42	18	40	612	"
12. American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)	39	5	56	616	"
13. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)	37	27	36	628	"
14. Economic Boycott	34	14	52	600	"
15. Rent Strikes	32	20	48	619	"
16. Bi-Racial Committees	30	8	62	609	"
17. School Boycotts	29	34	37	628	"
18. Anti-Defamation League	22	6	72	612	"
19. Deacons for Defense	16	9	75	629	"
20. Black Power	15	53	32	630	"
21. Riots	12	64	24	619	"
22. Nation of Islam	11	42	47	643	"

respondents. The 16-19-year-olds more strongly approved of the Urban League, 13 per cent difference; legal court cases, 8 per cent difference; educational programs, 6 per cent difference; and voter registration drives, 6 per cent difference; whereas the 13-15-year-olds more favorably endorsed SNCC, 7 per cent difference, and Black Power, 5 per cent difference. (Not capable of being interpreted along these lines, however, is the largest difference by age. Younger respondents, by a 14 per cent margin, more favorably viewed the American Friends Service Committee than did older youth.)

V

DELINQUENCY

The extent of delinquency among youth invites as much public attention as any other aspect of their existence. This is especially true for non-white youth. Many people contend that this difference of race is at least partially attributable to differential procedures in arrest, indictment, conviction, and confinement processes by race.

In this study, we have not used official delinquency rates for Negroes. Instead, questions about the commission of delinquent acts were asked of those in the sample. This, then, is a self-reported criterion of delinquency. In only 5 of 13 categories of delinquent behavior did as many as 10 per cent of the students admit participation. These were: (1) driving without license, 39 per cent; (2) skipping school, 29 per cent; (3) drinking alcoholic beverages, 27 per cent; (4) participating in gang fights, 12 per cent; and (5) buying alcoholic beverages, 12 per cent. In every case, the large majority of those admitting to delinquent conduct indicated they had done so *seldom* as opposed to *frequently* and *sometimes.*

In every instance, males were more likely to report participating in delinquent behavior than were females, with the largest difference occurring on the following items: (1) driving a car without a license; (2) skipping school; (3) taking part in gang fights; (4) buying or drinking alcoholic beverages; and (5) driving a car too recklessly or too fast.

Similarly, analysis by age differences showed, rather predictably, that older youths were more likely to have participated in delinquent behavior than younger respondents. The following items were fairly pronounced in this regard: (1) skipping school; (2) drinking alcoholic beverages; and (3) driving a car too recklessly or too fast.

Items involving sexual behavior of Negro youth were not among our delinquency items at the suggestion of Board of Education officials.

Although the respondents did not report a high degree of delinquency in the items presented, an orientation toward deviant and opportunistic innovation was suggested by reactions to the statement: "Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want." Forty-one per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement. There were no significant differences in these responses by sex or age. Such sentiments on a statement of this nature are not restricted to youth if contemporary evidence of adult behavior is viewed in light of orientations toward success in American culture.

VI

SOME RELIGIOUS CONCERNS

No questions were asked about the religious affiliation of the respondents. Traditional evidence and the number and type of Negro churches in the Atlanta community would tend to suggest that the respondents are likely to have Baptist or Methodist affiliations. A question was asked, however, about the frequency of church attendance.

TABLE 10. RESPONSES TO A QUESTION CONCERNING FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE, BY SEX.

Frequency of Church Attendance	Per cent of respondents attending church		
	% All Respondents	% Male	% Female
More than once a week	19	15	22
About once a week	38	35	40
2 or 3 times a month	27	25	28
About once a month	4	6	3
few times a year	8	10	6
Just about never	4	9	1
(N-659) Total	100	100	100

In Table 10, the frequency of church attendance for all respondents was tabulated by sex. It is seen that 57 per cent of the respondents attended church once a week or more, and 84 per cent once a month or more. Differences in church attendance by sex favored females. Whereas 75 per cent of males attended church at least two or three times a month, 90 per cent of the females did likewise. 61 per cent of the females stated that they attended church about once a week or more as opposed to only 51 per cent of the males.

The respondents were also asked to react to statements about the church and religion. Many of the statements were drawn from current controversies in church circles, i.e., "Is the church on the decline?"; "Is God dead?"; "Is the church too old-fashioned?" etc.

Responses to the above statements (as presented in Table 11) suggest that the church is still a powerful personal force in the lives of Negro youth; however, the respondents believe that "the church ought to be more concerned about social problems."

Some ambivalence was noted in responses to a question about the decline of the church as indicated by the fact that an equal number of respondents stated that they *agree, disagree,* and *don't know* that the influence of the church in America is on the wane. Similarly, the majority of respondents did not know whether the white man takes his religion seriously or not; but when asked to react to the statement, "The Negro does not take his religion seriously," a majority of the respondents disagreed (54 per cent).

TABLE 11. RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS CONCERNING SELECTED ASPECTS OF RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

STATEMENT	Per cent respondents who expressed:			TOTAL	
	% Agreement	% Disagreement	% No Opinion	N	%
1. My church is the basic guiding force in my life	56	26	18	651	100
2. The church ought to be more concerned about social problems	43	29	28	649	"
3. The influence of the church is on the decline in America	35	33	32	652	"
4. Religion is the only thing that can solve the race problem in America	29	42	29	651	"
5. I am neither for nor against the church	19	70	11	643	"
6. The Negro does not take his religion seriously	17	54	29	651	"
7. The white man does not take his religion seriously	16	32	52	656	"
8. When I have a problem, my pastor is one of the first persons I turn to	15	76	9	649	"
9. Sometimes I feel that God is dead	8	83	9	625	"
10. The church is too old-fashioned for me	4	91	5	657	"

Evaluated in a negative sense were the statements which read, "The church is too old-fashioned for me" (91 per cent disagreeing); "Sometimes I feel God is dead" (83 per cent disagreeing); "When I have a problem my pastor is one of the first persons I turn to" (76 per cent disagreeing); and "I am neither for nor against the church" (70 per cent disagreeing).

From the above statements, it would appear that the respondents are fairly religious; yet, they do not feel that the pastor is a principal source of advice, an attitude indicated by the earlier findings on personal sources of advice.

The data may suggest the existence of a certain amount of ambivalence in the students' feelings toward the church, especially in light of the fact that statements expressing general positive attitudes about God and religion tended to be accepted more readily than statements relating to the institutional church or to clergymen.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to assess the attitudes, values and opinions of Negro youth in a wide range of areas. While a more narrowly focused study would have permitted a fuller evaluation of any given aspect, the remarkable dearth of information available made a general survey seem imperative. Additionally, the unusually crucial role played by young people in the development and elaboration of normative values in our society and the high correlation which exists among seemingly disparate elements of our culture effectively preclude the possibility of concentrating attention on isolated factors.

This study, then, not only presents data relating to concerns of particularly timely interest, such as perception of the urban environment, evaluation of racial problems, attitudes toward civil rights organizations and approaches, and deviant behavior, but also attempts to assess other crucial dimensions of the subculture of Negro youth; e.g., religious concerns, self-images, aspirations, and sources of advice and identification.

The sample consisted of 688 students from five all-Negro high schools in Atlanta, Georgia. 40% of the students were males, 60% were females. Age range of respondents was 13-19 years. About 25% of the sample came from each of grades 9 through 12.

Our respondents were, on the whole, native Atlantans of low to low-middle socio-economic status, 42 per cent of whom live in family settings other than biparental. The number who live in female-centered domestic situations (38 per cent) was higher than might be anticipated from previous studies conducted elsewhere. Careful consideration of the data failed to uncover a variable which would satisfactorily account for this factor. Our data in this area would seem to have serious implications for immediate efforts in the areas of social planning and social welfare.

The respondents' perceptions of their environment, in terms both of the immediate community and the whole

urban setting, reflect a considerable degree of dissatisfaction. Two-thirds of the listed neighborhood facilities and services were negatively evaluated by at least 34% of the respondents. Among the items which drew the largest number of negative reactions are such crucial services as police protection and garbage collection and such basic facilities and conditions as those relating to schools, recreation, streets, sidewalks, and sewers. The items most positively evaluated were those most closely related to the personal environment; e.g., cooking, bathroom, hot water and shopping facilities.

When asked to rate 14 aspects of city life in Atlanta, 1/3 or more of the respondents gave negative reactions to 11 of the items. Those evaluated most positively ("moral and religious climate," "colleges and universities" and "sports") seem to be the least significant in terms of the material existence of the average respondent.

In a question assessing self-image, 30 per cent of the male respondents and 25 per cent of the female respondents expressed a desire for substantial or total change in themselves. Additionally, nearly 1/3 of the respondents expressed agreement with the statement, "Sometimes I feel all alone in the world."

When respondents were asked to evaluate a list of qualities in terms of their importance for "getting ahead in life," 7 out of 14 qualities were rated as very important by at least 60 per cent of the students. In descending order of perceived importance, these were: pleasing personality, ability, friendliness, proper morals, grades in school, high ideals and personal ambition. At this point, there is a distinct discontinuity in the response pattern; the remaining items—family background, good clothes, athletic ability, luck, being a white person, good looks and being "slick"—were rated as very important by 37 per cent or less of the respondents. While males tended to place somewhat greater emphasis on these latter qualities than did females, the general pattern of responses was the same for both sexes and both age groups.

Somewhat in keeping with this high valuation of qualities commonly associated with middle class status achievement were the responses to another question in which 96 per cent of the students indicated that they intend to remain in high school until graduation and that 86 per cent of these hope to continue their education beyond high school.

In response to a question about customary sources of advice, the majority of the students queried indicated that they usually seek advice from the mother, while the father and the minister were the least frequent choices. A large percentage (one-third of the males and slightly more than one-half of the females) seek support from individuals in their peer group. While the response pattern by sex was significantly different only in the item relating to peer group support, the males in our study do tend to seek advice more frequently from the usual authority figures (father, minister, school personnel, both parents) than do the females.

When asked to list Negro leaders in Atlanta whom they felt were most important, respondents most frequently mentioned Dr. M. L. King, Jr., Senator Leroy Johnson, Representative Julian Bond and Stokely Carmichael, in that order. These men also occur among the ten most frequently identified figures in a list of 39 prominent persons. In this list, Lester Maddox, Governor of Georgia, was most frequently identified (by 80% of all respondents).

A question measuring attitudes toward racial problems revealed interesting data. In general, the attitude of the average respondent was not particularly militant; the respondents did not approve of separatist, Black Power, or defeatist views, nor did a very high per cent indicate willingness to participate in a riot. However, an absolute majority of the respondents felt that "If things don't get better in Atlanta, there will be riots." A large majority of those expressing a definite opinion (45 per cent of all respondents) rejected the statement that "white people can usually be trusted," and only a bare majority (51 per cent) of all the respondents agreed with the statement that "Non-violence is always the best approach for Negroes to use."

The statement "Black Americans should be proud to be fighting in Vietnam," drew a negative response from 49 per cent of all respondents (62 per cent of those expressing a definite opinion).

When the students were asked to express approval or disapproval of various civil rights organizations and approaches, the NAACP (73% approval), SCLC (72% approval), and CORE (55% approval), received the greatest approbation.

Approaches ranging in militancy from educational programs to street demonstrations and economic boycotts were approved by large majorities of those indicating an opinion. Only school boycotts, Black Power, and riots failed to receive majority approval. In general, the least controversial approaches (voter registration, court cases, educational programs) received the greatest approbation. Except for the Nation of Islam, all organizations were approved of by a majority of those expressing an opinion. In all cases, however, a high percentage of respondents expressed *no opinion.*

Students were asked whether and how often they had committed a variety of delinquent acts. Only traffic

violations, alcohol violations, truancy and "gang fighting" were admitted to by more than 10 per cent of the respondents. In every case, the large majority of those admitting to delinquent conduct indicated that they had done so *seldom*. However, this level of admitted deviant behavior contrasts strongly with the fact that 41 per cent of all respondents agreed with the statement "Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want."

In a series of questions concerning religious attitudes, the majority of those responding tended to support basic religious views and values; however, positive statements about the influence and impact of the church drew considerably less agreement. The statement, "The church ought to be more concerned about social problems," was agreed with by 43 per cent of all respondents (and a large majority of those expressing an opinion).

Several factors tend to cloud the overall results. The considerable social tension and sense of crisis which currently pervade American society have undoubtedly had considerable impact on the young people in our sample. The ambivalence and considerable contradiction in the responses suggest that our study is most timely. This survey may well have captured the sense of confusion and transition among black youth which a perusal of the popular press readily reveals as being prevalent in the nation as a whole. It seems unlikely that a study in the future would reflect a similar clinging to traditional values.

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APPENDIX

Negro Youth Survey

You, along with other Negro youth in Atlanta, are taking part in a study of youthful attitudes and behavior. *You do not have to put your name on the questionnaire.* No one at the school will see the answers you give, so you should feel free to respond to each question as truthfully and honestly as possible.

This is *not a test.* We are interested in your attitudes and opinions. There are *no right or wrong answers.*

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

1. What was your age at your last birthday? _____

2. Sex: _____male _____female

3. Where were you born? City or Town _____State _____

4. How long have you lived in Atlanta?

   ____all my life

   ____more than three years, but not all my life

   ____one to three years

   ____less than one year

5. If you have not lived in Atlanta all your life, where else have you lived? (IF YOU ALWAYS LIVED IN ATLANTA SKIP TO QUESTION 6)

Town or City	*State*	*How old were you when you left?*

6a. Which of the following people do you live with? (Check as many as apply and indicate their ages)

	Age
1. ____your mother	_____
2. ____your father	_____
3. ____your aunt	_____
4. ____your uncle	_____

5. _____your grandmother _____

6. _____your grandfather _____

7. _____an older brother _____

8. _____an older sister _____

9. _____none of these _____

6b. If you checked any answer above except number 9, write in the kind of work they usually do for a living. (Check the correct box.)

	Kind of Work	*Currently Working*	*Unemployed*	*Retired*
Mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
Father	_____	_____	_____	_____
Aunt	_____	_____	_____	_____
Uncle	_____	_____	_____	_____
Grandfather	_____	_____	_____	_____
Grandmother	_____	_____	_____	_____
Older Brother	_____	_____	_____	_____
Older Sister	_____	_____	_____	_____

EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER THIS QUESTION

7a. Other than those listed above, write in any other people who live in your home and state their age and relation to you. (For example, my sister's husband.) If none, skip to question 7c.

	Relations	*Age*
1.	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____

b. In the same order you have written them, what kind of work does each of these people usually do for a living? (Check the correct box.)

	Kind of Work	*Currently Working*	*Unemployed*	*Retired*
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____

c. What is your family's main source of income?

1. _____Father's salary

2. _____Mother's salary

3. _____Social Security

4. _____Welfare

5. _____Other (Please specify) _____

8. Do the persons with whom you live (check one)

_____own or are buying their home

_____rent

9. Below is a list of some things every neighborhood is concerned about. How do you feel about these things in your own neighborhood?

	I think it:			
	Is Very poor	*Needs some improvement*	*Is pretty good*	*Don't know*
a. Bus service	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Garbage and trash collection	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Location of schools	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Quality of schools	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Sewers	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. Crowded conditions	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. Washing facilities for clothes	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. Police protection	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. Cleanliness and appearance	_____	_____	_____	_____
j. Parking facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
k. Hot water facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
l. Condition of homes	_____	_____	_____	_____
m. Proper heating during winter	_____	_____	_____	_____
n. Recreational facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
o. Street lights	_____	_____	_____	_____
p. Condition of roads	_____	_____	_____	_____
q. Condition of sidewalks	_____	_____	_____	_____
r. Shopping facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
s. Bathroom facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
t. Cooking facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
u. Churches	_____	_____	_____	_____

10. Are any of the following a problem in your neighborhood?

	Yes	*No*	*Don't know*
a. Too much noise	_____	_____	_____
b. Too much drinking	_____	_____	_____

c. Too much fighting _____ _____ _____

d. Too much trouble with police _____ _____ _____

e. Poor study conditions _____ _____ _____

f. Drug use (heroin, "pep" pills, etc.) _____ _____ _____

g. Speeding cars _____ _____ _____

h. Gangs _____ _____ _____

i. Unemployment _____ _____ _____

j. Stealing _____ _____ _____

11. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Agree	*Disagree*	*Don't know*
a. No one cares about us where I live.	_____	_____	_____
b. Most people are unfriendly.	_____	_____	_____
c. I wish someone would do something about where I live.	_____	_____	_____
d. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.	_____	_____	_____
e. One can always get help if he tries.	_____	_____	_____
f. Most policemen are pretty good guys.	_____	_____	_____
g. Schoolteachers really want to help you.	_____	_____	_____
h. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.	_____	_____	_____
i. If you worry about the next guy you'll never get ahead.	_____	_____	_____
j. Most older people usually give good advice.	_____	_____	_____
k. It is smartest to believe that all people will be mean if they have a chance.	_____	_____	_____
l. Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want.	_____	_____	_____
m. If someone tries to tell me what to do, I usually do the opposite.	_____	_____	_____
n. People are always trying to tell me what to do.	_____	_____	_____

12. Among the following, who do you usually turn to for advice? (Check as many as appropriate)

_____My mother

_____My father

_____Both parents

_____Other relatives

_____Minister

_____School personnel (teachers, counselors, etc.)

_____Personal friend(s) of my own age

_____Older friend(s)

13. Check the statement which comes closest to your feeling about yourself:

_____I don't like myself the way I am; I'd like to change completely.

_____There are many things I'd like to change, but not completely.

_____There are a few things I'd like to change, but not too many.

_____I'd like to stay very much the same; there is almost nothing I would like to change.

14. Briefly describe what comes to your mind when you think about Atlanta.

_____

_____

_____

_____

15. How would you rate Atlanta in regard to the following:

	Poor	*Fair*	*Good*	*Very Good*
a. City government	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Welfare services	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Recreation	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Public Schools	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Colleges and Universities	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. Public schoolteachers	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. Negro leaders	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. Housing conditions	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. Race relations	_____	_____	_____	_____
j. A place to bring up kids	_____	_____	_____	_____
k. Job opportunities	_____	_____	_____	_____
l. Police officers	_____	_____	_____	_____
m. Sports	_____	_____	_____	_____
n. Moral or religious climate	_____	_____	_____	_____

16. Check the column which indicates how often you have done the following:

	Frequently	*Sometimes*	*Seldom*	*Never*
a. Driven a car without driver's license	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Skipped school	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. "Run away" from home	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Driven a car too recklessly or fast	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Taken things worth more than $10	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. Used force to get money from another	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. Taken part in gang fights	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. Taken a car without owner's permission	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. Bought beer, wine, or liquor	_____	_____	_____	_____

j. Drank beer, wine, or liquor _____ _____ _____ _____

k. Sold narcotic drugs (heroin, reefers, pep pills, etc.) _____ _____ _____ _____

l. Used narcotic drugs (heroin, reefers, or pep pills) _____ _____ _____ _____

m. Sniffed glue _____ _____ _____ _____

17. Below is a list of statements dealing with Negroes and whites. As you read each statement could you check whether you *strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree* or *don't know* about each statement. (Check only one response for each statement.)

	Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Don't Know*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
ON THE WHOLE					
a. Civil rights demonstrations do not accomplish anything.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. "Upperclass" Negroes are usually not to be trusted.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. White people can usually be trusted.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Nonviolence is always the best approach for Negroes to use.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Sometimes Negroes ought to carry guns when protesting.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. If things don't get better in Atlanta there will be riots.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. I would participate in a riot.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. I am a strong believer in "Black Power."	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. I blame whites for the "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
j. I blame Negro "agitators" for the "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
k. I blame "bad" race relations as cause of "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
l. I blame police brutality as cause of "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
m. I blame poor economic and social conditions of Negroes as cause of "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
n. The more Negroes are separated from whites the better.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
o. I think black Americans should be proud to be fighting in Vietnam.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

18. How important is each of the following items in helping one to "get ahead" in life?

	Very Important	*Fairly Important*	*Not too Important*	*Don't Know*
a. pleasant personality				
b. family background				
c. good clothes				
d. good looks				
e. being a white person				
f. ability				
g. high ideals				
h. proper morals				
i. friendliness				
j. athletic ability				
k. high grades in school				
l. luck				
m. personal ambition				
n. being slick				

19. If you could be anything you wanted, what would you like to do for your life's work?

_____

20. What do you think you will actually end up doing for your life's work?

_____

21. Do you plan to stay in high school until graduation?

_____yes

_____no

22. Do you plan to go to school after you get out of high school?

_____yes, a vocational training school

_____yes, a college (Which college? _____)
(Write in name of college)

_____no

23. How often do you attend church?

_____more than once a week

_____about once a week

_____2 or 3 times a month

_____about once a month

_____a few times a year

_____just about never

24. Below are some questions about the church and religion. Could you indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement?

	Agree	*Disagree*	*Don't Know*
a. Religion is the only thing that can solve the race problem in America.	_____	_____	_____
b. My church is the basic guiding force in my life.	_____	_____	_____
c. Sometimes I feel that God is dead.	_____	_____	_____
d. When I have a problem, my pastor is one of the first persons I turn to.	_____	_____	_____
e. The influence of the church is on the decline in America.	_____	_____	_____
f. The church is too old-fashioned for me.	_____	_____	_____
g. The white man does not take his religion seriously.	_____	_____	_____
h. The Negro doe not take his religion seriously.	_____	_____	_____
i. I am neither for nor against the church.	_____	_____	_____
j. The church ought to be more concerned about the social problems facing man.	_____	_____	_____

25. List, in order of importance *to you,* the five most important leaders of the Negro people in Atlanta.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

26. Below is a list of civil rights groups and approaches. Please check *what you think* about each of them in the appropriate column to the right of each.

	Strongly Approve	*Approve*	*No Opinion*	*Oppose*	*Strongly Oppose*
a. NAACP	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ("SNICK")	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Urban League	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. Nation of Islam (Black Muslins)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. Deacons for Defense	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. American Friends Service Committee	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. Black Power	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

26. *(Continued)*

	Strongly Approve	*Approve*	*No Opinion*	*Oppose*	*Strongly Oppose*
j. School boycotts	———	———	———	———	———
k. Riots	———	———	———	———	———
l. Voter registration drives	———	———	———	———	———
m. Rent strikes	———	———	———	———	———
n. American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)	———	———	———	———	———
o. Anti-Defamation League (ADL)	———	———	———	———	———
p. Sit-ins	———	———	———	———	———
q. Nonviolence	———	———	———	———	———
r. Biracial committees	———	———	———	———	———
s. Economic boycotts	———	———	———	———	———
t. Street demonstrations, protest marches	———	———	———	———	———
u. Legal court cases to change racial segregation and discrimination	———	———	———	———	———
v. Educational programs used to change racial prejudice and discrimination	———	———	———	———	———

27. Below are names of persons who were or are alive. Answer for each person with a brief answer, *who she or he is* (or was). If you are not sure but have any idea . . . Guess.

Who Is (Or Was)

1. Eugene V. Debs _____
2. Walter Reuther _____
3. Rufus E. Clement _____
4. Benjamin E. Mays _____
5. Robert Kennedy _____
6. Carl E. Sanders _____
7. Elijah Muhammad _____
8. Harry S. Truman _____
9. Mao Tse Tung _____
10. Ralph Bunche _____
11. Jesse Hill _____
12. Richard B. Russell _____
13. J. Ernest Wilkins _____

(Continued on next page)

27. *(Continued)*

Who Is (Or Was)

15. Samuel W. Williams _____
16. Leroy Johnson _____
17. Howard Moore _____
18. Bill Russell _____
19. Ray Charles _____
20. Stokely Carmichael _____
21. Muhammad Ali _____
22. John Letson _____
23. Lillian Smith _____
24. Marian Anderson _____
25. Lester Maddox _____
26. Fidel Castro _____
27. Ivan Allen, Jr. _____
28. Adlai E. Stevenson _____
29. Thurgood Marshall _____
30. Adam Clayton Powell _____
31. Lou Rawls _____
32. T. M. Alexander, Sr. _____
33. Martin Luther King, Jr. _____
34. Sojourner Truth _____
35. W. E. B. Dubois _____
36. Gale Sayers _____
37. Bob Dylan _____
38. Booker T. Washington _____
39. William Holmes Borders _____

28. Please list the places you most frequently go for cultural activities (Music, art, reading, drama, etc.)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

29. Please list the places you most frequently go for recreational activities (sports, other exercise, etc.)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

30. Please list the places you most frequently go for entertainment or just general fun.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

May we thank you for the help you have given us. If there is anything else you would like to say please do so in the space below.

IMPORTANT! PLEASE READ.

Would it be possible to talk to you individually? Yes_____

No _____

If yes, would you give us your name, address and telephone number so that we will be able to contact you.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone No. _____

When is the best time to contact you?_____